

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, FR, AL

SUBJECT:ALBANIA: CONTACTS WITH QUAI DESK OFFICER

REF: PARIS 38029

1. DEPARTMENT IS PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN QUAI'S VIEWS RE ALBANIAN FOREIGN POLICY AS EXPRESSED IN SPEECHES AT RECENT PARTY CONGRESS AND IN RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. FOLLOWING IS COMMENTARY EXCERPTED FROM INR PAPER ON THIS TOPIC WHICH EMBASSY MAY DRAW UPON FOR THIS MEETING. COMPLETE PAPER WILL BE POUCHED TO EMBASSY AS SOON AS IT IS AVAILABLE.

2. HOXHA'S PARTY CONGRESS SPEECH REPEATED TRADITIONAL POSITIONS, FOR EXAMPLE ESPOUSING THE TIE WITH CHINA "OUR ALLY," THANKING THE PRC FOR ITS "INTERNATIONAL AID," AND HIGHLY PRAISING MAO AND HIS POLICIES, PARTICULARLY THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. WHILE EARLIER DISPUTE WITH PEKING
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 STATE 001969

HAD BEEN PAPERED OVER, HOXHA DID NOT IGNORE DIFFERENCES AND APPEARED TO BE LECTURING CHINESE ON POINTS WHEREIN THEIR POLICIES DIFFERED, SUCH AS PEKING'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE TWO SUPERPOWERS AND TOWARD THE BALKAN CONFERENCE.

3. HOXHA REITERATED HIS HOSTILITY TOWARD BOTH SUPERPOWERS, DECLARING THAT THE USSR AND THE US REPRESENTED "IN THE

SAME DEGREE AND TO THE SAME EXTENT, THE MAIN ENEMY OF SOCIALISM." HE ALSO REFLECTED ALBANIAN FEELINGS OF INSECURITY BY REPEATEDLY DENOUNCING THREATS OF AGGRESSION AND INTERFERENCE FROM ABROAD - WITH THE SOVIETS CONSTITUTING THE CHIEF WORRY. HE CHARGED THAT THE USSR WAS THE "CENTER OF WORLD COUNTERREVOLUTION," AND THAT THE MAIN DANGER WAS ITS "RIGHT-OPPORTUNISM AND REVISIONISM." HE ALSO PLEDGED THAT ALBANIA WOULD NOT MAINTAIN ANY TIES WITH THE USSR, REJECTING BREZHNEV'S OCTOBER OFFER OF RECONCILIATION.

4. CRITICISM WAS ALSO DIRECTED AT THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES - EXCLUDING ROMANIA - WHICH WERE DUBBED "VASSALS OF THE KREMLIN." BRUNT OF ATTACK WAS BULGARIA, A "BRIDGEHEAD" FOR THE SOVIETS. HOXHA WARNED HIS BALKAN NEIGHBORS TO BE PREPARED TO COPE WITH POSSIBLE ATTACK FROM THE SOVIET UNION, AND URGED GREECE AND TURKEY TO SETTLE THEIR DISPUTE BY NEGOTIATION.

5. THERE WAS SOME EVIDENCE OF A PRAGMATIC APPROACH IN HOXHA'S STATEMENT THAT HE DESIRED ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL TIES WITH "ACCEPTABLE" STATES OF THE FREE WORLD. WHILE ADMITTING ALBANIA'S ISOLATION FROM "IMPERIALIST AND REVISIONIST" CREDITS, TOURISTS, SPIES, AND DECADENT CULTURE, HOXHA POINTED TO ALBANIA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES AND MEETINGS. HE ALSO STATED THAT ALBANIA WOULD CONTINUE TO TRADE WITH ALL COUNTRIES EXCEPT THE US, THE USSR, SPAIN, ISRAEL, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 001969

"AND SOME OTHER STATES RULED BY FASCISTS AND RACISTS." PRAISING CULTURAL EXCHANGES AS A "VERY GOODTHING", HE POINTED TO CULTURAL TIES WITH FRANCE, THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, EGYPT, AND MANY OTHER COUNTRIES."

6. HOXHA'S STRONGEST PITCH APPEARED DIRECTED TOWARD ITALY, EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT "EVERY ITALIAN, AND EVERY ITALIAN POLITICIAN MAY ALSO THINK THAT FRIENDSHIP WITH ALBANIA IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR ITALY AS WELL." HIS ATTACKS ON US, UK AND FRG APPEARED AS STRONG AS EVER. HOXHA STATED THAT ALBANIANS "ARE NOT CONSUMED WITH GRIEF OVER THE LACK OF TIES WITH AMERICA,"AND CHARGED US WITH CONDUCTING "SAVAGELY HOSTILE" ANTI-ALBANIAN POLICY. HOWEVER, HE SEEMED CAREFUL NOT TO SLAM DOOR COMPLETELY SHUT AGAINST THE US AS HE DID AGAINST USSR. RE UK, HE REPEATED CUSTOMARY DEMAND FOR RETURN OF ALBANIA'S GOLD AND PAYMENT FOR DAMAGE DONE TO ALBANIA. "GERMAN REVANCHISTS" OF THE FRG WERE SCORED FOR "EXPANSIONISM AND HEGEMONISTIC TENDENCIES," AND FOR NOT MAKING ATTEMPT

TO PAY \$2 BILLION REPARATIONS FOR SECOND WORLD WAR DAMAGES.

7. HOXHA CONFIRMED ALBANIA'S INTENTION TO CONTINUE AS ONLY "BEACON" OF STALINISM IN EUROPE, AND THAT THERE WOULD BE NO RETREAT FROM THE REGIME'S POLICIES OF ORTHODOX MARZISM-LENINISM, NATIONALISM, AND STRUGGLE AGAINST DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN REVISIONISM. THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP, WHICH SEES ITSELF IN A STATE OF SIEGE, WILL CHANGE ITS HARD-LINE STALINIST POLICIES. THERE IS ALSO LITTLE LIKELIHOOD, WITH CHINESE AID DECREASING, THAT THERE WILL BE NOTABLE ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT. IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE POLICY OF AUSTERITY WILL CONTINUE AND THE RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH WILL DECLINE. NOR DOES IT APPEAR THAT TIRANA WILL CHANGE ITS HOSTILE POSITION TOWARD, OR WANT TO RESUME TIES WITH, THE US OR THE USSR AS LONG THE DUUMVIRATE OF HOXHA
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PAGE 04 STATE 001969

AND SHEHU ARE IN POWER.

8. SUCH A COURSE OF EVENTS SUGGESTS THAT ALBANIA WILL DIRECT ITS FOREIGN POLICY EFFORTS MORE TOWARD WESTERN EUROPE, THE BALKANS, AND CERTAIN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (IN ADDITION TO MAINTAINING ITS TIES WITH THE PRC, OF COURSE). ALBANIA'S NEEDS ARE RELATIVELY SMALL AND IT COULD ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP PRODUCTIVE TIES WITH SMALLER OR MEDIUM-SIZED COUNTRIES. ALREADY ALBANIA HAS INCREASED ITS TRADE WITH YUGOSLAVIA AND ITALY - EVIDENTLY ITS LARGEST FREE WORLD TRADING PARTNERS. AN ALBANIAN ECONOMIC GOOD WILL MISSION VISITED JAPAN LAST MARCH, AND A FRENCH COMMERCIAL MISSION VISITED ALBANIA LAST YEAR. A FIVE YEAR TRADE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED WITH ROMANIA, AND FOR THE FIRST TIME, ALSO WITH GREECE AND YUGOSLAVIA. ALBANIA ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THEY HAD REPRESENTATIVES AT TRADE FAIRS AT THESSALONIKI AND IZMIR AND PAVILIONS AT THE BARI AND GOTHEBURG INTERNATIONAL FAIRS. THUS, IT APPEARS THAT ALBANIA MAY WELL CONTINUE ALONG THE FOREIGN POLICY COURSE BEGUN DURING THE LAST YEAR.
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